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AMERICAN SOCIALIST

MARCH LEAFLET

It Deals With
The War Crisis
Rush In Your
ORDERS NOW!

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25 CENTS FOR SIX MONTHS; 50 CENTS PER YEAR; \$1 PER YEAR OUTSIDE UNITED STATES

Do You Want War?

President Wilson and his cabinet have decided that it is best for this Government to recognize that it is in a state of war with Germany and he has called the congress to meet April 2nd for the purpose of voting a debt of hundreds of millions in bonds to carry on endless military activities.

The metropolitan papers say that the President has come to this momentous decision because of "the tremendous appeal from the country for revenge for Germany's killing of American citizens and destruction of American property in contravention of all international law."

Are you one of those who have urged the President to this action? If not who of your neighbors are? Let us inquire and find out for certain if there has in reality been such a "tremendous appeal" from the country for this warlike action, or is it the misrepresentation in the name of the country of a few only who have free access to the press and pretend to speak for you and your neighbor when you and he have never authorized them so to speak. When you really do not desire war. When you believe that the murderous methods of war for the purpose of revenge are in contravention of all the laws of God and just men, no matter what so-called international law may say.

Ask yourself the question fellow-citizen, "If I have not urged the President to this act of war, nor my neighbors, who has?"

Is it possible that a small number of ambitious, self-seeking men, to gratify their vain ambition and lust for power are intriguing and scheming in conjunction with men drunk with the lust for gold from war contracts, are the real promoters of this war?

If this Government goes to war with Germany let us all know the truth of the causes. Let us not be deceived by false representations of patriotism. If the man with the gun and the flag is a patriot, ask yourself if the man in overalls who feeds and supplies him is not also a patriot. In fact, in the true sense of the word, more of a patriot than the one dressed in gilded uniform!

Let us not deceive ourselves, the citizens who have been killed, and whose property has been destroyed were accessories with the belligerents of Europe. They were helping one side against the other, and they were doing it for the most mercenary of reasons,—money.

Love of mankind, love of future ideals, love of liberty, in the sense of raising the living conditions of mankind, has nothing to do with their business—it was purely a question of dollars and cents.

Standing on their rights to make profits and pile up fortunes out of the blood of those who are killed in battle as well as those who are exploited and robbed out of the greater part of the wealth produced by the workers in the factories and upon the fields, the small number who pretend to represent you because you have been silent are going to plunge the hundred million people of this nation into all the horrors of war.

All for profits.—All for money.—And in order to dupe you so that you will become a willing pawn to fight their battles, a pliant tool to do their bidding, an echoing voice to repeat their falsehoods they cloak their actions with the hypocritical plea of God, Humanity and Patriotism.

Fellow citizen, awaken! You have already delayed too long. Write every newspaper editor whose paper you subscribe for or if possible see him in person. Write your senator and congressman. Organize mass meetings or help advertise and attend them.

The only way of escape is to recognize that peaceful, productive labor is the only true patriotism. That all rights upon the seas or elsewhere must be based upon efforts to produce and exchange free from every element of profit in the form of exploitation. That the only right we as a nation can unite to guarantee is the right to do constructive, creative, useful work for ourself and fellow-man and that we cannot fight to protect anyone in the carrying on of a trade or commerce that has destruction and death as its basis.

The only organization that now stands upon this foundation of true peace is the Socialist Party of your state and nation. It is trying by every means within its power to stay this insane sweep into the horrors of military murder. They are not as strong in numbers as they should be to meet successfully this crisis. They need your help and that of your neighbor. Why have you not gotten into communication with them? Or called upon them? Or subscribed for their papers? Or attended their meetings?

Now is the time. Hasten!

Prepare For Convention.

Every local of the Socialist Party in the nation should contribute its share to the success of the national emergency convention which opens in St. Louis, Saturday, April 7.

This can be done by seriously and intelligently discussing the big questions that are to come before this gathering and by filing your decisions with the delegates from your state.

You can help by rushing in your contribution to defray the expenses of the convention so that there will be no deficit when the time comes for carrying into action the decisions reached.

All eyes and all minds on the convention!

American People Do Not Want War, Declares Debs

Terre Haute, Ind.—"Wendell Phillips said at the time the United States government was in control of chattel slavery that he wanted two words inscribed upon his tomb as his epitaph. These two words were 'traitor' and 'infidel'—traitor to a government which protected human slavery, and infidel to a church which sanctioned the crime," said Eugene V. Debs, just home from an Eastern lecture tour. He was referring to recent charges of "traitor" that had been made against him over the United States situation with regard to Germany.

"My position is just the same as that of Wendell Phillips," Debs said. "The only difference is that a different power is now in control of the United States."

Mr. Debs spoke at length on the policy of the United States toward Germany, giving his personal version rather than that of the Socialist party. He preferred to do this inasmuch as the Socialists are planning to hold a convention in St. Louis shortly, at which time their stand in the present crisis will be decided upon.

"The American people do not want war," he declared vehemently, "and I dare call street to submit the matter of war to a vote of the people. If the people have no voice in this matter of such vital importance to themselves, then our country is a despotism."

"We are hearing much about the insults to the American flag these days and about American persons being killed in the danger zone. Six hundred thousand men and women are being murdered and mutilated in the industrial and military wars of the United States yearly in ways that are preventable. They are meeting such deaths under the American flag. Do we hear any protest against these deaths? Out at Ludlow, pregnant women were shot and little children roasted under the American flag. In Cabin Creek, West Virginia, an armored train with a United States flag floating over it, went into the mining towns and shot up the camps at midnight. Why are such murderous acts as these not an insult to the flag?"

"Our plutocracy has loaned three billion dollars to the allies and made hundreds of millions of dollars feeding the war in Europe while starving its own people. When Senator La Follette introduced an amendment to the naval bill providing that the navy should not be sent to collect Morgan's debt in Europe, the bill was overwhelmingly defeated."

"The present grave international situation was developed absolutely by the capitalist government of the United States in utter and criminal disregard for the peace and welfare of the people. And if the people of the United States and the people of Germany are wise, or even have ordinary sense, they will allow the class in control of the governments of the two countries to fight the battles and furnish the corpses as well as to declare the war."

Mr. Debs asked what good it would do the flag or the honor of the country to have a million American working men slaughtered, a million families bereaved and a million homes made desolate.

"Anybody who talks war and slaughter now is a traitor," he said. "Any man who talks peace and good will is a traitor. This is due to a frenzy of bogus patriotism in which the American people have been lashed by a prostituted press."

"Two-thirds of the people of the United States do not own one inch of this country. They have nothing to invade and they have no interest in controlling it. Let the Rockefeller and the Morgans who own the country do the fighting. Will they do it? No!"

"The people of the United States have nothing against the people of Germany, and the German people have nothing against the American people. If I were president of the United States, I would issue a communication to the German people—not the government—and would say to them that the people of the United States do not desire to slaughter them and that the Americans believed that the Germans have no desire to kill them. It would bring results. If the question were put up to the peoples of these two countries, there would be no war, no more preparedness talk."

Just A Boost

Dear Comrade Editor:—Please allow me to congratulate you on the class of paper you are publishing. It is sure fine and dandy. I would not miss a copy for a bushel of red beans. I am going to move further north, so I wish you would see to it that I get my next week's paper. Long live The American Socialist!—W. H. Hermann, Corpus Christi, Tex.

AMERICAN SOCIALISTS SEND RUSS GREETINGS

NEW YORK.—Voicing the good wishes of the American Socialists at the success of the Russian revolution which overthrew the reigning dynasty and established a democracy, Morris Hillquit, international Socialist secretary, sent the following cablegram to Socialist deputy Tchcheidze in the duma:

"M. Tchcheidze,
"Imperial Duma,
"Petrograd.

"American Socialists send hearty congratulations to Russian comrades upon the splendid victory of the forces of liberty and progress. Long live international democracy and Socialism."

"MORRIS HILLQUIT,
"International Secretary."

What Are They Made Of?

By JOHN M. WORK.

WHEN one stands still and watches the human panorama, he cannot help marveling at the apparent heartlessness of the majority of the people.

All about them is poverty and suffering. People are dying of slow starvation. Men, women and children are undergoing every cruel hardship that one can imagine. Children's bodies are hauled to the cemetery by the hundreds, because they were born to poverty-stricken parents. Girls are driven into the brothels because they can find no other way to earn a living wage. In many thousands of instances the heart-breaking struggle causes the brain to reel into insanity. In thousands of other instances escape is sought thru the door of suicide. In thousands of still other instances, crime is resorted to in order to secure the necessities of life.

THE MOST casual glimpse reveals these horrors. A closer examination would reveal many others.

Yet, the majority of the people go their way heedless of it all. Not that I expect them to turn aside in each instance and endeavor to bring about better conditions for the individual. It would be impossible. If they responded in any more than a miserly manner to the numerous calls for help, they and their own dependents would go hungry.

But they could at least vote for a system that would abolish all these horrors.

At each election day they have the opportunity to do so.

But, more than nine-tenths of them vote for all of these horrors to continue.

What can such people be made of? Are they utterly and hopelessly hard-hearted?

NO. IT is because they do not know.

That is, they do not know that there is any way to abolish these horrors. They think these tragedies are an inevitable part of human life, and they go along with such show of boldness as they can summon, in an effort to make their own get-away from the region of these abysses.

The absolutely essential thing therefore, is to educate them to the truth.

Get into the Socialist movement and help to let them know the truth, in order that these horrors may be abolished and a free and happy social system established.

People Raise Food Cry As War Clouds Grow Blacker

By LUCIEN SAINT.

WASHINGTON. — FOOD PREPAREDNESS FIRST!

On the verge of a war that is none of their own making, the American people are suffering from the same evil which has caused war-bound Russia to break into revolution—high prices of foodstuffs and a faulty distribution and marketing system.

War or no war, this is the time for the people to insist that their national government grapple with the question of FOOD PREPAREDNESS. The people are hungry and their health and happiness is being wasted because in the midst of plenty, surrounded with heaps of grains and meats, they cannot buy wherewith to fill their stomachs.

Woodrow Wilson has given the nation some military and naval preparedness—millions of dollars worth of it, more of it than the nation ever dreamed was possible or necessary. Within a few months we shall have a navy comparable with the biggest in the world, and an army comparable with the dreams of our jingo statesmen—adequate at least, for purely defensive purposes.

Meanwhile, what has Woodrow Wilson done to see to it that the nation is prepared to feed itself?

People Eat Little.

Tons of exports of grains and foods are daily being taken from our ports to starving and fighting Europe. Our storage warehouses contain more tons of foods which shall be sold later to the highest bidder, no matter whether the people here starve as they watch the long trains of bursting freight cars rumble by to the seaboard. Our rich are eating well and plentifully—eggs, meats, breads, fruits, vegetables. Our poor—which is to say, we the people—are eating little because we can not purchase that which we would like to eat. We do not eat eggs, and we eat beans as we are fed to cattle instead of meat. Our agricultural experts tell us to go eat beans—like the King of France who told his subjects to go eat grass and thus fill their bellies.

A national agricultural department spending annually twenty-five millions of dollars is investigating everything from the potato wart to the beef trust, and yet is ready with no policy of food preparedness. It sounds a note of optimism and remarks that our system of distribution is bad—a fact which the Socialists knew fifty years before the Department of Agriculture came into existence. But it does not say what should be done. It cautiously advises that production be somewhat increased.

Meanwhile the great food exploiters are "prepared". The meat trust is getting rich and fat as the prices of meats go up and as the by-products business brings in the profits. With its great centralized plants and its army of agents lobbying in the state capitals and in Washington, it prevents any legislative action looking to limit it or regulate it or develop local beef raising near the big cities thru the community-owned abattoir.

Cheat Producer And Consumer.

The Millers Trust cheats with one hand the farmer and with the other cheats the consumer, selling him concentrated white flour which is bad for his stomach and fighting the whole wheat bread movement.

On the backs of the farmers hang the fertilizer manufacturers who closely cooperating with the Meat Trust, sell back to the farmer the by-products of his own land, and at a tremendous profit.

Then there is the Money Trust, gladly lending money that the farmer may produce more and get deeper into the net of credit and mortgages.

So with it all, and with the fat railroad rates and the terminal elevator charges and excessive handling, and money slipping into the pockets of a long line of economic parasites as the food comes from the producer to the ultimate eater, the people starve and eat grass, and ask why it is that we

should be prepared to fight if we are not prepared to eat and live.

Have No Real Suggestions.

Food committees are working with the problem in the cities, and making reports and suggesting remedies. Again and again we hear the warning that "we" eat too much, that "we" waste too much, that "we" ought to eat beans if we cannot get beef, and so on and so forth. But none come forth with the suggestion that if this country is to be prepared to stand the storms of a war it perhaps years duration, the country must draw itself together and think and act nationally, for the whole people.

When the money system brought too many panics, the business men got together and devised a system known as the Federal Reserve system, which provides machinery for the distribution from bank to bank of money and credits. What the Government has done once, it can do again. It can devise a Federal Food Control, and this organization should and could—

Take the railroads for government ownership,

Take the terminal elevators for the people,

Take the cold storage houses for the people, and

Enforce upon the manufacturers of foods a limited profit, so that foods will not be weighted down with burdens of toll paid at a thousand gates.

Food, Need Started Revolution.

Russia went into revolution because an old government failed to get the people food. England has verged on revolution for the same reason. Germany may revolt before this article is printed—because she can not feed her people. The lesson of current history is clear and plain. The people are watching the President and the Congress which is soon to come together to vote more extraordinary funds for the prosecution of this eleven-hour war.

Write FOOD PREPAREDNESS FIRST on your bulletin boards and in your papers. Food preparedness is the only kind of preparedness that will be of any permanent value to the working people of this or any other nation.

That Anti-War Picture!

We still have a few copies left of that special issue of The American Socialist containing the greatest anti-war picture ever published. It covers a whole page and is ready for posting. This issue is selling for 75 cents per 100; \$7.50 per 1,000 while they last.

Have you secured some of those anti-war posters? Greatest ever! Selling fast! Order now! Suitable for framing. They are 25 cents each, \$2 per dozen, \$12 per 100. Order from the National Office, Socialist Party, 803 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Send In Your Bundle Orders!

History will be made at the coming convention of the Socialist Party, which opens at the Planters Hotel, in St. Louis, Mo., Saturday, April 7. Every action taken by this convention will be reported in detail in the earliest possible issue of The American Socialist.

You will want everyone to learn of the important action to be taken by this convention on the pending war crisis.

Send in your order for a bundle of the Convention Issue of The American Socialist. The price is 75 cents per 100, \$7.50 per 1,000. Order from The American Socialist, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Getting Railroad Justice

By DANTE BARTON.

Believing, as they declare, that this is a time of great national peril, the patriotic railroads come forward with a demand that they be permitted to increase their freight rates. Some of them are so excessively patriotic that they are proposing to take a 20 per cent raise (estimated to mean an extra 500 million dollars) out of the people's pockets. As they profess to be the only simon pure patriots in the country, they probably figure that if they take away from the people about all the wealth that the people have got, the people will not mind being forced into the trenches to save the financiers' loved country.

There is "a fly in the ointment", however, for this peculiar patriotism of the railroads. The people happen to be GENUINELY patriotic. They are not looking for profits for themselves, and they are not patiently going to permit spurious "patriots" to add new profits to old profits in a time of national stress. They love their country with such a genuine love that they are going to have it all THEIRS—and not have it taken over in special privilege by a home talent group who could give any European army cards and spades and still beat it at the pleasant game of occupying the country and taking its wealth.

The people are asking questions. Because the railroads have just been forced to give their workers the right working day of eight hours, and because it will cost them something extra if they do not run their trains by that standard, why should the people be forced to add to the enormous profits the railroads have been making? Why cannot the public service of transportation provide decent hours and wages for its workers without thus affording a pretext for taking more money away from the people?

A committee on the valuation of railroads in New York City is insisting that the value of the railroads shall be the actual value of the railroad investment. It insists that the basis shall not be the fictitious and watered capitalization of the railroads—nor shall it include the unearned values that the people themselves have added to the original values of lands given to the railroads or purchased by them.

In addition to these fictitious values and unearned values (conservatively estimated at 9 billion dollars) claimed by the railroads, there are enormous "leakages" in the conduct of railroad operation and management. Some years ago Mr. Justice Brandeis (now of the United States Supreme Court) estimated the loss thru inefficiency in railroad operation at 300 million dollars a year. On the top of all this are the enormous profits which the railroad owners take.

Must the railroads be forced to admit that it will require public ownership of the means of transportation in order to get, at the same time, justice to the railroad workers and justice to the people in general?

Education Wins!

W. Francis Ahern, one of the best known Australian labor writers, in a letter from Sydney, offers some suggestions to American Socialists how to succeed. He says labor has become a power thru political action on account of being backed by industrial organizations. "Do you know that in Australia we have, for instance, on our trades union strength and say that every man of that huge number, now 50 per cent of the working population of Australia, will vote labor?" says Ahern.

"We organize our men from boyhood in a sense—our girls are led into the maze of politics at an equally early age. We instill into them the fact, all too patent, that they can not vote the ticket of their employer and hope to get good results. That tells, always."

"We take care of the coming voters in perhaps the best method that the world has ever seen. We take them thru secondary schools, where politics, where economic problems are instilled into their young minds, after the primary schools have finished with them. We give them the right to the universities, free of all charge. We give them the right of entrance to the political organizations as workers at nominal sums. We allow them equal privileges with the oldest supporters of Labor, when they come to the voting age. The young man, three years a university student, has the same chance and right to run for Parliament as the Labor supporter of 50 years' standing, and we always preach the introduction of new blood into the first line fighting machine. That explains why we have comparatively young men in the Australian Labor governments."

The "immediate demands" that have been won by Labor include: "Pensions of all kinds, free education, State ownership plans, government regulation of the price of foodstuffs, baby bonuses, defense plans (for defense only, mark you), citizen soldiery, socializing of our industries, labor banks, curtailment of profits, land taxes, income taxes that do hit the man with money, and many others."

Ahern concludes: "Never fear, tho we may not go by the direct road to socialism, I make bold to say that we will arrive at the mansion of socialism long before any other nation in the world. The secret is that we educate as we go along."

"Socialism is stronger than the strongest presentation that can be made of it."—Professor Richard T. Ely, in "Socialism and Social Reform."

If the school has become training camps, then civilization has been set back five centuries. The whole world will soon be illiterate again.

The Adamson Decision.

LOUIS D. Brandeis, associate justice of the supreme court of the United States, had his great opportunity when the Adamson case came up for decision. It was a case which could not fail to hold the attention of all the people of the United States. I had some hopes that he would avail himself of it.

It was a brilliant opportunity to write a separate opinion, perhaps concurred in by one or two of the other justices, but alone if necessary, taking a definite and aggressive stand to the effect that the supreme court does not have any legal power to pass upon the constitutionality of laws.

I suppose it will be said that we ought to be glad that the law was upheld. I am glad of it. But that is a slight matter compared with the stupendous blunder of permitting the supreme court to pass upon the validity of laws at all.

The constitution of the United States does not give the supreme court any power to pass upon the constitutionality of laws. That power was usurped by the court, over a century ago, under the leadership of John Marshall, in the famous—but hereafter to become infamous—case of Marbury versus Madison, decided in 1803. If you have access to a law library, and want to read the decision, ask for 1 Cranch. You will find the report of the case beginning at page 137. It is a very clever and specious argument. But it is wholly fallacious. Its evil effects have been far reaching.

Long acquiescence in a wrong does not make it right. How absurd it is for one hundred million people to wait for nine men to tell them whether or not they can pass a law!

It is not only ridiculous, but it is utterly opposed to popular government. So long as we permit such a travesty to exist, we simply do not have popular government.

There are several ways to abolish this abuse. One way is for the supreme court to reverse itself. If one justice would take a courageous stand for that purpose, it would not be long until public opinion would drive the other justices over to his side.

Another way is to have an administration with backbone enough to inform the supreme court that it does not have any legal power to nullify laws of congress, and that, if it pretends to do so, its void decisions will be disregarded and such laws will be enforced just as if its futile opinions had not been given.

It is hardly necessary to say that when we put a Socialist administration in power, this usurpation will cease at once.

Suggested War Program.

By IRWIN TUCKER.

We can follow out the policy of the Socialist movement thruout the word by adopting in the present war crisis a platform declaring for the following steps:

1. Immediate confiscation of all incomes in excess of \$10,000 a year.
2. Immediate levying of a 75 per cent inheritance tax.
3. Immediate seizure by the government of all railroads; their operation thru the present administrative heads, under the direction of a Secretary of Railroads in the President's cabinet. Payment of all stockholders their pro rata of the physical valuation of said railroads; and payments not to be made until the physical valuation has been completed, and no interest to be paid meanwhile.
4. Immediate seizure of all mines—coal, copper, iron, zinc, lead, gold, silver, and all other kinds; their operation by the government thru a Department of Mines.
5. Immediate control of all food supply, by governmental ownership and operation of the storage warehouses. Passage of a law making the speculation in foodstuffs an act of high treason under the Articles of War—namely, punishable with death.
6. Establishment of industrial democracy in all industries under governmental control, thru recognition of the unions as the medium between the government and the workers.

To every one of these emergency measures the Government and the labor bodies have already given careful consideration, and some measure of approbation. They are feasible. They may be too late to stop the war. But at any rate they will take all the flavor out of this war, for those who have precipitated it. They will make use of the sudden threat of war to force thru what we have hammered on for a generation, and what now the crystallization of popular opinion will make it possible for us to accomplish.

Is it not time that we took a lesson from the developments of the world war, instead of shouting aloud either traditional formulas of prehistoric descent or blind catchwords of jingoism? Socialism stands for peace at the only price which will buy it—namely, Socialism. Preparedness or unpreparedness, enlistment or non-enlistment, is not the supreme issue before us. That supreme issue is what it has always been; namely, Socialism versus exploitation; Industrial Democracy versus industrial imperialism.

The very fact that the jingoes are still working for war in this country is the best possible proof that they think the only way to really kill Socialism here is to shoot it to death.

Split On War Question

By JULIAN PIERCE.

The conflict between the pre-war majority and the anti-war minority of the Social Democratic party of Germany has ended in a split after two and one-half years of struggle.

The anti-war Social Democratic group in the Reichstag, in an independent organization called the "Social Democratic Union of Labor", has issued a manifesto indicting the official Socialist majority in and out of the Reichstag for its support of the German Government's war policy.

The manifesto closes with an appeal to the anti-war Socialists of Germany to participate in a national conference to take the necessary steps to organize nationally the anti-war forces in order to "work for the establishment of the Social Democratic movement and to realize the Socialist program."

The appeal is signed by Haase, Ledebour and Voghter, in the name of the Reichstag anti-war Socialist group.

Urges Nationwide Organization.

The manifesto declares that a nationwide organization of the anti-war Socialists is imperative in order to prevent the pro-war executive committee from securing complete control of the Social Democratic party.

"If the opposition does not act energetically," it is asserted, "the executive committee will crush one after another those against whom the committee would be powerless were the opposition definitely united to resist the executive committee's encroachments."

Socialist Nationalism Indicted.

The executive committee is charged with having "adopted an anti-Socialist policy which has turned the official Social Democratic party into a Government Socialist Nationalist party, and with having fraternized with the capitalist parties, in the name of a party truce, to give its support to the objects of an imperialistic war."

The manifesto also declares that the executive committee has ruthlessly deprived the Socialists making up the anti-war minority of their rights as members of the Social Democratic party, and maintains that the committee has maintained dual organizations throughout Germany wherever the minority was in legitimate control of the regular party organization.

Executive Committee Caused Split. The manifesto does not incriminate the rank and file of the Social Democratic party for the party's failure to live up to its anti-war traditions and teachings. On the contrary, the responsibility for the repudiation of the anti-war policy, as well as for the party split itself, is placed directly upon the executive committee.

"A dozen party functionaries charged with the administration of the national office," it is pointed out, "have arrogated to themselves, contrary to the party laws and regulations, the power to decree in accordance with their own good pleasure the exclusion from the deliberations of the party not only of individual comrades, but of entire organizations."

Text Of Manifesto.

The complete text of the manifesto of the Social Democratic Union of Labor follows:

(The term "majority" includes the Socialist adherents of the German government's policy. "Minority" and "opposition" include those who oppose the government's policy. "Vorwaerts" is the official daily paper of the Social Democratic party.—Translator's note.)

COMRADES:—The time for decision has come. At the beginning of the war the majority executive committee of the Reichstag Socialists adopted an anti-Socialist policy. The development of this policy along its initial lines has turned the official Social Democratic party into a Government Socialist Nationalist party. The new policy was begun by voting for the war credits. It ended by voting for the budget.

Supports Imperialistic War. By its fraternization with the capitalist parties in the name of a party truce, the majority of the Reichstag Socialist group was led to give its support to the objects of an imperialistic war.

Constantly refusing the demand of the Socialist minority to compel the government to proclaim an offer of peace without annexation of territory, the effect of the action of the majority has been to prolong the war, and not, as the majority now pretends, to shorten it.

The majority, moreover, tried to crush the growing strength of the opposition, when it demanded the right freely to express its views, by depriving it, in defiance of law and contrary to the decisions of the party congresses, of its prerogatives within the organization.

The majority thus forced the minority to organize itself into an independent group. Editors Discharged—Papers Seized. The profound antagonism between the two Socialist parliamentary groups manifested itself later in the Reichstag in a permanent fashion on

Trench Dreams

By WM. FRANCIS BARNARD
(Author of *The Tongues Of Toil*)

In mud of blood he made his bed.
To ease his tortured bones;
His dead friend's coat lay neath his head
To soften the hard stones;
His ears heard for a slumber song
Slow dying sobs and groans.

Yet soon he slept, and sleeping smiled,
While all around him there
The stench of death choked and defiled
The damp and clinging air,
And men watched for a night attack
With the courage of despair.

Yes, still he laughed in happy sleep,
By dreams borne to a land
Where kindness bade the heart upheave,
Where comrades gave the hand,
And tasks seemed pleasanter than rest
To many a singing band.

Springtide was running in his veins;
Soft hours fell rich and slow;
The paths lay stained with violet stains
Where groups walked to and fro;
And the air pulsed sweet with lilac bloom
And the pear flower white as snow.

His dreams were thrilled with Maytime love
Midst vales, and summits tall;
The sky arched tender blue above,
And he heard the waters call.
Sitting with hope and happiness
Till moonrise and dewfall.

Medals in honor of brave deeds
Upon his breast shone bright;
But an awful look stared from his eyes
When they woke him for the fight.
And he killed himself with his own hand
In the cold grey morning light.

all questions of policy, and appeared again recently when the law for compulsory civil service was under consideration, the law having been adopted by the majority group and rejected by the Union of Labor.

At the same time the executive committee initiated a fight against the opposition by dissolving editors and seizing papers. This policy culminated in taking forcible possession of the "Vorwaerts," thanks to a state of siege.

Dual Organizations.

In the same way in its fight against the organizations affiliated with the opposition, the executive committee violated more and more the principles of justice.

In different places the committee has stimulated the creation of dual organizations.

On January 18 the executive committee obtained a decision from the national committee, which it palmed off on January 23 as its own manifesto. This manifesto was the signal for a general split in the party. It threatened with expulsion from the organizations dominated by the executive committee those comrades who expressed the convictions of the opposition, and coupled the expulsion threat with the further threat to organize counter organizations throughout Germany to carry on the fight against the opposition.

Liebkecht's District Invaded. This threat was carried out. On January 28 the intervention of the executive committee created a counter organization in the Potsdam-Osthavelland district against the legitimate organization in that jurisdiction.

This dual organization took a second immediate step toward the dislocation of the party by designating its president as a candidate for the Reichstag party. The committee will crush in succession those against whom it would be powerless were the opposition definitely united to resist the committee's encroachments.

It is now a duty of solidarity, therefore, for all the comrades loyal to our principles to organize themselves in order to work unitedly to re-establish the vitality of the Socialist movement and to realize the Social Democratic program as well as the decisions of the party congresses and of the international Socialist congresses.

Opposition Conference Called. In accord with a large number of comrades of the several parties in Germany, we therefore invite all organizations and members of the Social Democratic party who are disposed to work with the Social Democratic Union of Labor to participate in a conference which will take the necessary steps to organize the opposition. To this end we urge the local organizations which have hitherto stood with the opposition, or who may take such a position in the future, to communicate with the undersigned.

In those districts where the opposition comrades have been deprived of their rights of freedom of speech by decisions of the local district organizations, thru instigations emanating from the executive committee, we expect them to immediately establish their own organization, and in this way inform us of their adhesion to our movement.

Detailed information regarding the time and place of the conference will be furnished shortly. Nevertheless, we urge you to complete the preliminary work before the middle of March.

And now to the work with vigor. Not a day should be lost.

Greetings to all Social Democrats.
HAASE.
LEDEBOUR.
VOGHTER.

For the Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Union of Labor of the Reichstag.

Send communications to E. Voghter, deputy in the Reichstag.

A Socialist War Program

By A. M. SIMONS.

ADVANCING the date for the special session of Congress makes it almost certain that when the special national convention of the Socialist Party meets the United States will be formally at war with Germany. With the entrance of this nation into the Armageddon of capitalism the greater part of the world will be in the melting pot from which a new civilization will be cast.

Socialists, who, for half a century, have foreseen and foretold the possibility of such an end to the regime of exploitation, shall not now fail to play their part in the coming transformation. This convention must give us a plan of common action.

The first and fundamental demand of such a program must be that all the expenses of war be met by a direct tax upon incomes and the confiscation of capital. This is the economic foundation of the whole program. Millions of radicals and the ablest authorities on national financing will join with us to secure this object. If carried into effect it will either stop the war or expropriate private industry.

NEXT to this must come the demand that labor have a direct voice in the management of industry. In every industry operated by the government or for government use labor must be represented upon the directing body. In so far as these demands are carried into effect we shall have proceeded toward the democratization of industry.

We must oppose all unnecessary censorship. Freedom of speech, press, communication and assemblage, when not used to betray military secrets, are the foundations of victory for a democratic people.

We have a right and a duty to set forth the objects which we demand the war shall keep in view. The United States will be an ally of the democratic nations of the world. The peoples of these nations have been induced to give their lives by millions by the pledge that the war is waged to crush autocracy and militarism, to end war and extend democracy.

The Russian revolution has pressed home this promise. As Scheidemann has pointed out the world is united against Prussian autocracy.

The Socialist Party and the workers it represents have little interest in boundaries, "freedom of the sea," distribution of colonies, control of strategic ports, railroads, straits and canals, nor in the other avowed objects of belligerent rulers and diplomats. But we have an immeasurable interest in the banishment of autocracy from modern nations, in disarmament, in an international alliance of nations and extension of popular government.

THE convention should demand that these ends be made the avowed objects of the war, and the fundamental terms of peace. The Socialists of all the nations with whom we will be allied in war have already made similar demands. Far more important still,—with these objects we can reach across the battle lines and join with the workers of all nations in insisting upon these terms of peace.

The entrance of the United States joins, for war, all the important democratic nations of the world. That alliance will be continued after the war. An overwhelming majority of the peoples of those nations do not wish that alliance to be an exclusive one for conquest, tariff wars or imperial tyranny and commercial expansion. The Socialists of this country should invite the support of all who will join in demanding that this alliance be transformed into a true world state, including all the peoples of the earth, whether friends or enemies in this war.

We have talked internationalism for generations. Now the reality is within our grasp. We must not reject it because it has come along that bloody path of war that we have tried so hard to bar.

Such a world alliance has need of neither armies nor navies. It prepares the way to universal disarmament, and is powerful enough to force that disarmament upon any backward, barbarous nation. We have now an opportunity to make an effective demand that this shall truly be a war upon war, the last great war to abolish all the trumphy of war. In this demand also we

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shall find ourselves supported by millions in other nations, both friend and foe.

Such a program would arouse, not only every Socialist to enthusiastic revolt, but would bring to us millions who now have no part in our work. It is a truly Socialist program. It places the Socialist Party where it belongs, at the apex of the forces marching toward the coming society.

A Necessary Preliminary.

From The Milwaukee Leader.

In April the voters of Milwaukee will be called upon to elect members of the school board and judges of the civil and circuit courts.

There is no election in which the interests of the ordinary citizen are more vitally affected than the school election. Yet the election of school directors, as is the election of judges, too often is deemed by the average voter to be of no consequence. He seems to think that unless there shall be a large number of candidates pulling him this way or that way and shouting in his ears and urging him to vote for them the election can not be of concern to him.

It is unfortunately true that a large vote is frequently dependent upon the number of candidates in the field, the salaries of the offices which they seek and the stimulation given to their appeals by the public treasury, the spouting of campaign orators and the excitement created by the newspapers. Under such conditions, the "fight" grows hot and the voter who is quite human is attracted precisely as he is attracted to a dog fight or a fire. Once he is attracted to the fray his interest is excited. He joins in the melee to vindicate his principles or to help his favorite candidates—candidates who have ingratiated themselves in his favor, either with handshaking and smirks or smiles or 5 cent cigars or liquid libations.

School and judicial elections are not calculated to draw out a large vote. Candidates for school directors seldom make personal appeal to the voters. The office of school director is largely honorary. No one wants the office for the salary. No practical politician would seek the office "for what there is in it." When candidates of that type appear, as has been the case when "slates" have been made up by the Holy Alliance to "beat the Socialists," they have sought office to help hamstring the schools as a religious duty—precisely as they would walk a day with peas in their shoes to do penance.

There is no office more intimately related to the masses of the people than the office of school director. The school directors have control of public education. The public schools directly control every family. Even the parents who send their children to private schools are dependent upon the standards maintained in the public schools to maintain higher standards in the private schools. Lower the educational standards of the public schools and to that extent the incentive to higher standards in the private schools would be lessened. The church schools make them. The citizen who is led to attack the public schools in response to religious prejudice, if he but knew, is his children's worst enemy.

The "best citizens" naturally enough are well pleased when the mass of the voters give no heed to judicial elections. It enables them to place their "friendly judges" on the bench and keep them there. It "takes the judiciary out of politics"—that is, out of the hands of the workers who subsequently may be enjoined to keep off the streets or exercise other constitutional rights in event they should object to lower wages or demand a shorter work day.

It will be necessary, if the school and judicial elections shall not go by default to the Manufacturers and Munitions Makers' association, to create more or less disturbance between now and election. More or less shouting will have to be done. Someone will have to get out on the streets and beat a drum and draw a crowd. It can't be done in a nice, quiet, philosophical way. It will have to be carried on like a neutral argument over the war.

Then if the noise shall become loud enough, if the disturbance shall assume proportions large enough to disturb the slumbers of citizens who feel that all is well and God rules in His high heaven, a fairly heavy vote may be polled and Milwaukee once more "disgraced" by public officials whose policies reflect a progressive and enlightened civic consciousness.

FOR "TRUE AMERICANISM" AT TWO HARBORS, MINNESOTA.

The Two Harbors, Minn., Socialist party, which has controlled this city of 6,000 population for the last six years, has nominated candidates for the coming municipal election on a platform pledging loyalty to "true Americanism" and providing for the immediate construction of a modern filtration plant for the city water works and the continuation and extension of municipal ownership.

The platform declared for the continued operation of the city coal yard and the selling of ice supplied by the city ice plant. The platform also pledges the Socialist administration to use every "reasonable effort to lighten the tax burden."

Capitalism cannot furnish permanent employment to all the people without committing suicide.

Nobody Wants War — It Settles Nothing.

From The New Orleans Item.

Nothing is clearer than that the American people do not want the United States to enter the war. Even in the eastern cities where the overwhelming majority of the press is for war so strongly that all who think otherwise are denounced as traitors and poltroons, anti-war mass meetings, attended by immense crowds, are nightly events.

The war itself is exerting a tremendous influence for peace. After 30 months of reading and hearing of it first hand from those who have been on the battle fronts, the American public is sobered. The jingo has lost much of the influence. Certainly, he can no longer make it appear that jingoism and patriotism are synonymous.

If the interests and the honor of this country were seriously menaced or openly attacked, and going to war with the power or coalition which was responsible were the only possible solution, there is not the least doubt that the nation as a whole would deliberately and determinedly go to war.

But going to war merely to exhibit resentment against wrongs which could not and would not thereby be righted, but might be aggravated, does not appeal to the American people. They have changed in the nineteen years since the Maine was destroyed in Havana harbor. They have lost their hysteria. The slow, brutal, exhausting conflict being staged in Europe has taken all the romance and glamor out of war. We are living in a sobered and darkened world.

War appeals to people no longer as a means of settlement of issue even among those who are engaging in it. Hall Caine, the famous English writer, says in *The London Times*:

"If it were possible to refer the present war, with full knowledge of the merits of the quarrel, to the twenty voiceless millions who are actually engaged in it, the battlefields would be silent and deserted within a week."

The war press, war financiers and war factories in this country grow furious over the damage this nation's commerce is sustaining, the damage certain of the nation's industries are sustaining, the losses some of this nation's shipping interests are sustaining, the losses some of our financial institutions are suffering by reason of highlanded and internationally illegal measures belligerents are taking regarding commerce on the world's highways—supposed to be open and free to the traffic of neutrals.

They ask how these losses are going to be stopped unless this nation goes to war? Are we going to submit to what is tantamount to a blockade of our ports and an embargo on our exports without going to war to assert our sovereign rights as a nation? Are we going to take orders from some European power as to how we may use the ocean? So run the questions in the war press.

But would war lift the embargo—or make it worse by having it specifically declared against our exports and brought directly to our own coasts? Would going to war countermand any of the orders which eastern parties insist are insolent beyond toleration, or would it only multiply such orders and inspire others even more intolerable?

And as to your going to war in order to check the losses our commerce, industries, shipping and finances may now suffer indirectly by our neighbor's fighting—that is the most absurd of all arguments advanced in favor of this nation's entering the world slaughter.

At a meeting of the Foreign Trade Council of the United States held the last week in January, a committee which had investigated conditions in Europe made its report. Exclusive of the destruction of shipping and cargoes destroyed at sea—which will run into hundreds of millions of dollars—this committee estimated the property loss in the various theatres of war to have been \$5,000,000,000 by the first of January, 1917. This loss can never be fully repaired, and that which can be made good will require generations of unremitting toil and grinding taxes to replace.

In the face of such a report it is nothing less than insanity to talk about this country's entering the war in order to prevent further losses at the hands of belligerents. As a neutral our property losses may reach into millions. As a belligerent they would run into billions.

There never has been a time in all the world when the futility of war as a solution of any thing—either honor or personal, national or property rights—was ever so clearly demonstrated as it is at this moment. That is why those influences in this country which are trying to shove the nation into war and arouse sentiment against the president's deliberation are getting nowhere.

The American masses do not want war—not because they are cowardly, but because they are brave; brave enough to overlook a great many things in war-crazed nations fighting for their very existence; brave enough to sacrifice a little pride instead of thousands of men and millions of property; brave enough to exercise self-restraint; brave enough to practice that Christianity which they have, as a people been professing.

SEES EUROPE DEMOCRATIZED.

The Berlin Vorwaerts says that the Russian revolution indicates that one of the consequences of the war will be the far reaching democratization of Europe, according to a Berlin dispatch to Reuter's by way of Amsterdam.

The paper scores the pan-Germans for holding that after the war will be time enough to settle the question of direct suffrage in Prussia and adds: "It will be a great and dangerous mistake if equal suffrage is not introduced into Prussia while the war is actually going on."

MARSEILLAISE AND RED FLAGS GREET REVOLUTION

London, England. — Russian troops at field headquarters welcomed the revolution with a remarkable demonstration, according to Reuter's, quoting a telegram received at the capital from field headquarters. The telegram says that the troops marched in detachments to the public square, waving red flags and singing the Russian "Marseillaise" to the music of their bands.

Scheidemann Lifts Voice For Democratic Germany

Philipp Scheidemann, socialist leader in the reichstag, says in the socialist newspaper "Vorwaerts": "It does not require many words to explain why almost the whole world is arrayed against us. The answer is given quickly. The whole world sees among our enemies more or less developed forms of democracy, and in us it sees only Prussians."

We have always answered by referring to the absolutism of Russia, but now czarism has gone and the emperor's successors are to accept the throne only if the representatives of the people agree. These representatives are to be elected on the basis of universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage.

"In Asia the empire of the mandarins opposed every reform. They desired an emperor with absolute power, as long as he did their will, and thereby undermined the monarchy and laid the foundation of a republic. In the European central empire similar spirits seek to build similar chinese walls and hinder every reform. The clock shows five minutes to 12. They imagine they hold up the time when they move back the hands to 11."

"Why does the chancellor shrink back now from unconditional necessity? Always the hesitator, the procrastinator, Bethmann-Hollweg wants to begin to cure Prussia after the war. Russia also promised all reforms after the war, but the war lasted too long for the Russians."

"Why postpone till tomorrow what is absolutely necessary today, what even the king himself declared years ago was one of the most urgent matters of the business of the state? Now is the time for decisive action."

Calls Upon Chancellor to Act

"The difficulties which might arise if the government adopts the reichstag system of election for Prussian elections are as a featherweight as compared with the difficulties which will come if it does not do this. The chancellor should not delay one day. The Prussian people, as well as the other German states, will stand as one man at his side if he acts decisively."

Rigg and Dixon, the Socialist and Single Tax members of the Manitoba Legislature, were snubbed good and hard a few days ago, probably because of their uncompromising attacks on militarism. The Governor-General held a reception to the members of the Legislature and the cabinet, and Rigg and Dixon were not invited. So there! The Winnipeg Voice inquires, sarcastically, whether the two labor men were given the icy glare because they had no dress suits.

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People Getting Wiser

have moved with startling rapidity along the upward price curve. Here, and there a fortunate commission merchant or egg buyer would stand with pride that he had cleaned up hundreds of thousands on his buyings and sellings of this life staple. The housewives of some cities boycotted eggs. Housewives in other cities protested to the authorities, demanding protection against the "egg trust." The egg dealers replied with the statement that the war was responsible; that there was a scarcity of the eggs, and that freight congestion rendered it impossible to supply the market. These and many equally unconvincing arguments were advanced to justify

No one denied that the hens were laying about as usual. No one could prove that there was a particular shortage of eggs in any part of the country.

You will find the rest of this article in the April leaflet entitled, "The High Cost Of Living" by Scott Nearing. Issued by the national office, Socialist Party, 803 W. Meadison St., Chicago. Prices: 10 cents per 100; 75 cents per 1,000.

"Grant" The 8-Hour Day

By LUCIEN SAINT.
(Special Correspondence.)

WASHINGTON.—Well, the railroads "granted" the eight hour day

less than twelve hours before the Supreme Court decided that the eight hour day was constitutional. That was funny.

Mr. Dooley made the classic remark that the Supreme Court follows the election returns. This is true.

But the Supreme Court also sees which way the wind is going to blow. And a further observation from this end of the line:

The judges who voted against the laboring men and for the railroads are all well known railroad judges.

Also: Did the railroads know that the Supreme Court was going to decide as it did? Remember, the railroads gave in less than twelve hours before the noble body of jurists handed down their decree.

(This is written because the writer does not like the Supreme Court as an institution—nothing personal.)
Let's have a Congressional investigation!


Respectable citizens when in a dispute do not shoot each other, but they allow the law to settle their differences. So also it is HOPED, will nations in a far greater degree than in the past, avoid war by resorting to arbitration.

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Organization Column.

NOTE.—We want the best brains in the Socialist movement to contribute ideas to this "Organization Column." We feel that the best organization ideas come from those who really do the work of organization, the rank and file of the membership who are always on the job. Let us hear from you. Send all communications to the Organization Column Editor, The American Socialist, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

APPEAR TO GOOD ADVANTAGE.

Two articles on organization could not have appeared to better advantage in the same column of the same issue than those of Comrades Deino and Harriman in The American Socialist. The psychology of the former is a vital point in propaganda work and has an easily traceable economic source. Farmers who hire their farms are not so prone to the qualms which Comrade Deino describes. The renters' unions of the southwestern states which are in close touch with the Party prove this. It is notably the owning farmer who has misgivings about socialism. He has inherited or bought title to the land which he works. The land title has a capital value based on the net income from the property above the current wage of the farm labor employer or put into the place by the farmer. This capital value is a credit asset, which the working farmer especially is chafing at, in the hope of gaining full possession. He is more interested in winning than in perceiving how little he has to lose by a political change that would enable him to do much better as a wage earner or renter than he can as the owner of an equity. Not infrequently, however, he has put his surplus or his credit into fixed improvements instead of clearing his title and this puts him in a way to lose much thru a small default in case the speculative value of titles begins to shrink and banks to tighten up on that class of property. With a mortgage on the property the shrinkage might wipe out the equity. Property discussions do not get the farmer.

The farmers' market and supply problems are bringing them together into cooperative associations. These associations are being studied and fostered by the Department of Agriculture thru its office of Markets and Rural Organization. This office maintains a corps of investigators who devote all their time to helping such organizations by perfecting their methods of doing business.

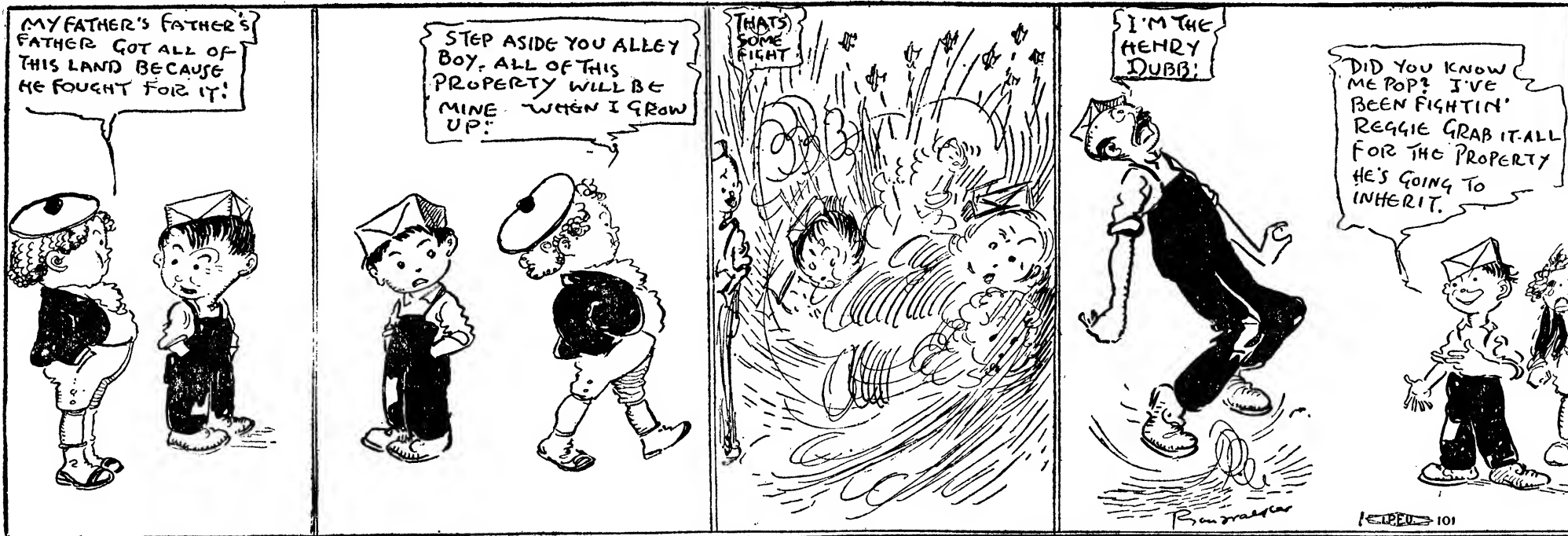
These farmers' cooperatives are practical socialism. Comrade Harriman's suggestion that the party put itself in a position to support them politically by lining up their beneficiaries behind the party is most timely. It presents a promising way of securing the backing of the rural population and of bringing the rural population to its own. How far Comrade Harriman's amendment will go toward accomplishing this desirable result is problematical. In its present form it seems to open the way for a feud of the theories like those of two decades back. However, it is a certainty that the party locals can benefit their members and extend their political influence by building up cooperative marketing organizations among their members. Beginning with a few staples they can soon become dealers in many. If you do not believe this read "Socialists at Work," by Robert Hunter and inquire of Local Fitchburg (Finnish). Better still, stop off in Fitchburg. Such cooperatives soon reach back to direct dealing with the farmer. He learns the gospel thru his pocket and learned in this way it is not forgotten.—J. A. Rikardoi.

Scholarship Contest News

Name	Address	Points
M. K. Freidman, Kokomo, Ind.		733
B. J. S., Gary, Ind.		150
M. Maginsky, New York City		118
R. H. Lane, Aurora, N. C.		94
Conrad L. Friberg, Chicago, Ill.		72
Mae Garber, Greensburg, Pa.		50
L. Van den Bergh, Minneapolis, Minn.		36
John C. Knowlton, Mason City, Ia.		32
P. E. Tomlinson, Winona, Minn.		24
Miss E. W., Holyoke, Mass.		20
J. N. Carter, Omaha, Neb.		7
Mrs. C. Schase, Youngstown, Ohio		4
Ida Bienstock, Hartford, Conn.		2
Robert H. Wilson, Brattleboro, Vt.		
Wm. Heino, Wilkeson, Wash.		
Harold F. D. A. Jackson, Los Angeles, Cal.		
Ernest Leo, Seattle, Wash.		
M. L. Lehman, N. Glendale, Cal.		
Maurice Levine, St. Paul, Minn.		
Mrs. H. J. Grigsby, Great Falls, Mont.		
Abraham H. Fein, Bronx, N. Y.		
City, N. Y.		
Tony Morrello, Youngstown, O.		
I. V. Yinget, Kenosha, Wis.		
Max Cenis, Irwin, Pa.		

Let us see: Wasn't it the gentleman for whom certain misguided Socialists voted, on the ground that he had "kept us out of war" who took the responsibility of breaking with Germany and thus almost causing the death of millions on his individual say so?

Junior Fights For An Inheritance



Convention Information

Here is some information for delegates and visitors to the coming national convention. Cut this out for future reference.

Chicago, Ill., March 20, 1917. Dear Comrades:—We have decided to hold the Emergency National Convention in the Banquet Hall of the Planters Hotel, St. Louis. After a week of searching in Chicago, we were unable to find a centrally located hall that was available during the period of our convention. After communicating with comrades in different cities in the middle west, St. Louis was decided upon because of its convenient geographical location and other advantages.

The management of the Planters Hotel has placed the Banquet Hall and necessary committee rooms at our disposal free of cost, excepting, of course, that we make the hotel our headquarters. The rates are as follows:

Rooms for one person without bath \$1.50 and \$2.00 per day.
Rooms for two persons without bath \$2.50 and \$4.00 per day.
Rooms for one person with bath \$2.00, \$2.50 and 4.00 per day.
Rooms for two persons and bath \$3.00, \$4.00, \$5.00 and \$6.00 per day.
The Planters Hotel is located in the heart of the business section of the city and can be easily reached from the railroad station.

Please give the following directions to your delegates. To reach the meeting place (Planters Hotel) take any car, Manchester, Laclede and Market, running East on Market St. Get off at Broadway and Market, walk one block east to Fourth st., and one block north. The hotel is located opposite the Court house on Fourth st., between Chestnut and Pine sts.

There are a number of cheaper hotels nearby:
The New St. James, Broadway and Walnut Sts., \$1.00 and up per day.
St. Regis, Fourth and St. Charles Sts., \$1.00 and up per day.
Laclede, 6th and Chestnut Sts., \$1.00 and up per day.
La Salle, Broadway and Chestnut Sts., \$1.00 and up per day.
The Stratford, 8th and Pine Sts., \$1.00 and up per day.
The Majestic, 11th and Chestnut Sts., \$1.50 and up per day.

Be sure to inform your delegates to stay away from the American Hotel or American Annex. The former is located at 7th and Market Sts., and the latter at 6th and Market Sts. They are on the unfair list.

Trusting that the growing seriousness of the present situation will impress upon your state organization the necessity of having a full delegation, I am, with all good wishes,

Fraternally yours,
ADOLPH GERMER
Executive Secretary.

IN THE WORLD OF LABOR.

By Max S. Hayes.

The successful termination of the stubborn struggle of the four railway brotherhoods for the basic eight-hour day and increased wages marks another long step forward for the whole labor movement on this continent. This is true not so much because 400,000 men secured the shorter workday and wage advances that many other trades already enjoy, but for the reason that virtually a new principle in government has been given added recognition and emphasis in the decision rendered by the United States Supreme Court on the heels of the agreement reached by the railways and the brotherhoods thru the mediation of the representatives of the Court of National Defense. In the published abstracts of the court decision and in a statement by Attorney-General Gregory, in commenting on the ruling, it is held that Congress has the right to legislate to reduce the hours of labor and increase wages. While this power is described as "compulsory arbitration," it is declared that "the public interest begets a public right of regulation to the full extent necessary to secure and protect it." The court said that in the emergency of threatened "destructive suspension of national transportation," Congress acted within its powers in providing a wage standard and other

means necessary to protect the public interests.

It also declared that the Adamson act is neither unworkable, confiscatory, experimental nor in excess of Congressional railroad regulatory authority, as was claimed by the attorneys for the railways. Attorney-General Gregory is quoted as saying that "the decision disposes of the large questions immediately involved, and will likely have a bearing on other issues which may develop." It is undoubtedly a fact that other similar issues will develop, now that this important concession has been wrested from the captains of industry and those who control the reins of government. The interpretation that the Adamson act is "compulsory arbitration" does not necessarily detract from the real value of the victory gained or frighten the workers against invoking their political power to make still further progress. Every law is more or less compulsory; it depends wholly on who wields the law and who gains and who must yield to its mandate. The workers, thru their organizations, can compel recognition of their economic power, just as the capitalists have done in years past, and by using their political advantages they are doubly sure of gaining still more improvements. Considered from every standpoint, this decision of the United States Supreme Court was epoch-making.

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Socialist Party Young People's Dept.,
803 W. Madison St., Chicago.

YIPSEL DOINGS.

The Lecture Tour recently conducted by the National Secretary turned out very successfully. At the tied blitz in Minnesota the meetings at St. Paul and Minneapolis were quite well attended. At Duluth a crowd of 500 turned out, completely jamming the hall and netting a profit of \$35.00 for the league. While stopping off at the meeting at Moline, Ill., the National Secretary had an opportunity to address the body of 600 students of the Palmer School of Chiropractic, at Davenport, Ia. It turned out to be a very appreciative audience, there being quite a few avowed Socialists among the students and a lot more who were with us and didn't know it.

George R. Kirkpatrick, the Party's candidate for Vice-President last year, and with the possible exception of Gene Debs, our leading platform representative, is making several dates for the Yipsels to give them at Cleveland and Detroit while on his way to Chicago, where he addresses the given campaign symposium given by the North Side and Maplewood leagues on April first.

Queens Circle No. 1, Brooklyn, N. Y., has been giving fine help in running socialist anti-war meetings. He is speaking for them at Cleveland and Detroit while on his way to Chicago, where he addresses the given campaign symposium given by the North Side and Maplewood leagues on April first.

The Waterbury, N. Y. Yipsels initiated their fine new headquarters with an anti-war meeting that won over two columns of space in the capitalist press the following day.

The Y. P. S. L. of Hartford, Conn., recently defeated the American Socialist Party of the same city in a debate on "Resolved, that the Socialist Party shall advocate immediate reforms," the league taking the affirmative. The next debate between the same organizations is on "Resolved, that the United States shall adopt a system of universal military training." The Y. P. S. L. is also conducting a fair and dance to benefit the American Branch and help put it on its feet.

New Britain, Conn., recently conducted an interesting snap-box evening in which all took part. Lectures and a "Russian Revolution Jubilee" also formed part of last month's program.

Bronx No. 1, N. Y., reports a public discussion meeting on "Are the interests of employers and workers identical," and a lecture by Clara Ruge, on "The Modern Drama." They are doing good press agent work.

Joseph Venditoli, secretary of the Providence, R. I., league, thinks very highly of the help given by the National Champs, and would like to see his fellow Yipsels to give him some tips on how to bring various circles within a state or neighborhood into closer touch with one another. His address is 14 America St., and live wire Yipsels are invited to write to him direct on this topic.

"Enthusiasm is our slogan," says Rochester, N. Y. It looks that way. A reading by Prof. Fairchild of Rochester University, rehearsals for a big play, preparations for the inter-league debates, and the biggest dance of the year, are just a few of the things now in preparation.

"The Little Comrade" is a newcomer among papers and it surely is "different." It aims to interest the children and is written in a simple and (and) easy to learn to love and understand. Tells all about the "Bad Barons" who tied all things, even thoughts, into big bags and labelled them with a magic word "Mine." Just a little 4 page monthly but it's well worth while. Sub price is 50c per year, 25c in clubs of 4 or more, bundles of 12 or more, 1c per copy. Address, "The Little Comrade," 6802 Yale Ave., Chicago, Ill.

King Cotton And His White Slaves In Georgia

By IDA CROUCH-HAZLETT.

It was in Columbus, Georgia, where the thunderous roar of the mills shook the air from morning till night. The man talking to me was forty-two years old. He had entered the cotton mills at seven; he had spent thirty-five years in them. He was then getting nine dollars a week, with a sick wife and a daughter of twelve to support. He added three dollars a week to his wages by "spieling" Saturday afternoons, which were half-holidays—for an auction sale.

His wages at seven were twenty cents a day. The little beginners were employed as sweepers and doers—keeping the floors clean, and taking off the empty bobbins. This comrade said when he was so little his mind was in a daze as to what he had to do. He had certain portions of the great floor-space to sweep, and he was always trying to figure out just what was his work.

Work Ten-Hour Day. In these Georgia mills the work-day is ten hours. One operator tends four check looms, or from eight to twenty-four looms.

On this work, producing an average of twelve hundred yards a day, selling from five to fifteen cents a yard, the weavers receive on an average about \$1.50 a day.

Seventy-five per cent of those working in the mills are women. They are married and single, from children of ten up to seventy-five years old. If a child is well-grown his parents lie about his age, and thus evade the law. They go so miserably paid, so often disabled, contract so much sickness from lack of ventilation, superheat, monotonous motions, lack of proper exercise and food, and suffer such enforced periods of idleness that the wages of all who can be rallied to work are necessary to support the family.

One can see the enormous profits of the owners of these helpless slaves. It is a common thing to see a man and his wife and six children all working in the mill; working at night and the children shaken and prodded to keep them awake. The eldest girl will be kept at home to take care of the house. You see these little house-mothers dressed in the most miserable clothes, with ragged shoes, staying all night alone in the house while the rest of the family is at work. Where there is a young baby it is brought at night to the mill that its mother may suckle it. After the birth of a child the mother is back in the mills in a few days. We may imagine how Margaret Sangster's clinics would be received here; how the aristocracy of the mill towns would be piously horrified at the breach of the "divine" dictum, "Increase and multiply." So doth economic interest shape religious conviction.

Few Get Schooling. Few of these children get any schooling, and the school houses of these towns are lamentably small according to the population. The parents are taxed two dollars a year for each child that goes to school. Most of them are so poor that they cannot pay it, and there are whole families that never go to school, that have no clothes and shoes, or whose clothing is so ragged that the other children make fun of them, and whose teachers send them home with notes to the parents to provide better clothes for them, or to wash their faces. There is no one at home to wash their faces for them, and frequently they do not have the slightest toilet conveniences.

Most immoral conditions prevail in the mills. The mill workers are largely a drifting class, coming from Georgia to Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, wherever there are mills, hoping to find better conditions. They marry young, as the sex joy is the only joy that comes into their ignorant and barren lives. They lose their jobs, leave their families to find work and never get enough ahead to send for them. Or, with the first child, they find family cares become burdensome.

The grocery bill is four dollars a week, the rent is six; they are getting only nine dollars a week, so they have left only fourteen dollars in the month for clothes, medicine, school, meat, milk, wood and laundry.

Under The Profit System. The average is constantly growing less. The draper looms, demanding more than double the work, decrease the actual pay. So the young householder gets discouraged and quits the scene, finding his sexual satisfactions where he can. The wife is left helpless, and frequently augments her feeble resources by what she can make on the street.

All this occurs under the beautiful and virtuous conditions of the profit system. But of course it is only Socialists that want to break up the home by giving to the worker the product of his toil so that he can afford to support his family decently.

THE CALL OF THE WILD

By JACK LONDON.

Copyright By Jack London.

(Continued from last week.)

Performs Another Exploit.

That winter, at Dawson, Buck performed another exploit, not so heroic perhaps, but one that put his name many notches higher on the totem-pole of Alaskan fame. This exploit was particularly gratifying to the three men; for they stood in need of the outfit which it furnished, and were enabled to make a long-desired trip into the virgin East, where miners had not yet appeared. It was brought about by a conversation in the Eldorado Saloon, in which men waxed boastful of their favorite dogs. Buck, because of his record, was the target for these men, and Thornton was driven stoutly to defend him. At the end of half an hour one man stated that his dog could start a sled with five hundred pounds and walk off with it; a second bragged six hundred for his dog; and a third, seven hundred.

"Pooh! pooh!" said John Thornton; "Buck can start a thousand pounds." "And break it out?" and walk off with it for a hundred yards?" demanded Matthewson, a Bonanza King, he of the seven hundred vaunt.

"And break it out, and walk off with it for a hundred yards," John Thornton said coolly.

"Well," Matthewson said, slowly and deliberately, so that all could hear, "I've got a thousand dollars that says he can't. And there it is." So saying, he slammed a sack of gold dust of the size of a bologna sausage down upon the bar.

Nobody spoke. Thornton's bluff, if bluff it was, had been called. He could feel a flush of warm blood creeping up his face. His tongue had tricked him. He did not know whether Buck could start a thousand pounds. Half a ton! The enormity of it appalled him. He had great faith in Buck's strength and had often thought him capable of starting such a load; but never, as now, had he faced the possibility of it, the eyes of a dozen men fixed upon him, silent and waiting. Further, he had no thousand dollars; nor had Hans or Pete.

"I've got a sled standing outside now, with twenty fifty-pound sacks of flour on it," Matthewson went on with brutal directness; "so don't let that hinder you."

Thornton did not reply. He did not know what to say. He glanced from face to face in the absent way of a man who has lost the power of thought and is seeking somewhere to find the thing that will start it going again. The face of Jim O'Brien, a

By RYAN WALKER



Mastodon King and old-time comrade,

caught his eyes. It was a cue to him, seeming to rouse him to do what he would never have dreamed of doing. "Can you lend me a thousand?" he asked, almost in a whisper.

"Sure," answered O'Brien, thumping down a plethora sack by the side of Matthewson's. "Tho it's little faith I'm having, John, that the beast can do the trick."

Plan For The Test. The Eldorado emptied its occupants into the street to see the test. The tables were deserted, and the dealers and gamekeepers came forth to see the outcome of the wager and to lay odds. Several hundred men, furred and mittened, banked around the sled within easy distance. Matthewson's sled, loaded with a thousand pounds of flour, had been standing for a couple of hours, and in the intense cold (it was sixty below zero) the runners had frozen fast to the hard-packed snow. Men offered odds of two to one that Buck could not budge the sled. A quibble arose concerning the phrase "break out." O'Brien contended it was Thornton's privilege to knock the runners loose, leaving Buck to "break it out" from a dead standstill. Matthewson insisted that the phrase included breaking the runners from the frozen grip of the snow. A majority of the men who had witnessed the making of the bet decided in his favor, whereat the odds went up to three to one against Buck.

There were no takers. Not a man believed him capable of the feat. Thornton had been hurried into the wager, heavy with doubt; and now that he looked at the sled itself, the concrete fact, with the regular team of ten dogs curled up in the snow before it, the more impossible the task appeared. Matthewson waxed jubilant.

"Three to one!" he proclaimed. "I'll lay you another thousand at that figure. Thornton. What d'ye say?"

Thornton's doubt was strong in his face, but his fighting spirit was aroused—the fighting spirit that soars above odds, fails to recognize the impossible, and is deaf to all save the clamor for battle. He called Hans and Pete to him. Their sacks were slim, and with his own the three partners could rake together only two hundred dollars. In theebb of their fortunes, this sum was their total capital; yet they laid it unhesitatingly against Matthewson's six hundred.

The team of ten dogs was unhitched, and Buck, with his own harness, was put into the sled. He had caught the contagion of the excitement, and he felt that in some way he must do a great thing for John Thornton. Murnum of admiration at his splendid condition, without an ounce of superfluous flesh, and

the one hundred and fifty pounds that he weighed were so many pounds of grit and virility. His furry coat shone with the sheen of silk. Down the neck and across the shoulders, his mane, in repose as it was, half bristled and seemed to lift with every movement, as the excess of vigor made each particular hair alive and active. The great breast and heavy fore legs were no more than in proportion with the rest of the body, where the muscles showed in tight rolls underneath the skin. Men felt these muscles and proclaimed them hard as iron, and the odds went down to two to one.

"Gad, sir! Gad, sir!" stuttered a member of the latest dynasty, a king of the Skookum Benchers. "If you were eight hundred for him, sir, before the test, sir; eight hundred just as he stands."

Thornton shook his head and stepped to Buck's side. "You must stand off from him," Matthewson protested. "Free play and plenty of room."

The crowd fell silent; only could be heard the voices of the gamblers vainly offering two to one. Everybody acknowledged Buck a magnificent animal, half twenty-five-pound sacks of flour bulked too large in their eyes for them to loosen their pouch-strings.

Thornton knelt down by Buck's side. He took his head in his two hands and rested cheek on cheek. He did not playfully shake him, as was his wont, or murmur soft love curses; but he whispered in his ear. "As you love me, Buck. As you love me," was what he whispered. Buck winced with suppressed eagerness.

Love's Answer. The crowd was watching curiously. The affair was growing mysterious. It seemed like a conjuration. As Thornton got to his feet, Buck seized his mittened hand between his jaws, pressing in with his teeth and releasing slowly, half-reluctantly, the answer, in terms, not of speech, but of love. Thornton stepped well back.

"Now, Buck," he said. Buck tightened the traces, then slacked them for a matter of several inches. It was the way he had learned.

"Gee!" Thornton's voice rang out, sharp in the tense silence.

Buck swung to the right, ending the movement in a plunge that took up the slack and with a sudden jerk arrested his one hundred and fifty pounds. The load quivered, and from under the runners arose a crisp crackling.

"Haw!" Thornton commanded. Buck duplicated the manoeuvre, this time to the left. The crackling turned into a snapping, the sled pivoting and the runners slipping and grating several inches to the side. The sled was broken out. Men were holding their breaths, intensely unconscious of the fact.

"Now, MUSH!" Thornton's command cracked out like a pistol-shot. Buck threw himself forward, tightening the traces with a parring lunge. His whole body was gathered compactly together in the tremendous effort, the muscles writhing and knotting like live things under the silky fur. His great chest was low to the ground, his head forward and down, while his feet were flying like mad, the claws scarring the hard-packed snow in parallel grooves. The sled swayed and trembled, half-started forward. One of his feet slipped, and one man groaned aloud. Then the sled lurched ahead in what appeared a rapid succession of jerks, tho it never really came to a dead stop again. . . . half an inch . . . an inch . . . two inches . . .

The jerks perceptibly diminished; as the sled gained momentum, he caught them up, till it was moving steadily along.

(To Be Continued.)

If all workingmen and women were permanently employed, every strike would be won inasmuch as there would be no "scabs" to take the places of the strikers.



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